

Grau de Estudis Anglesos

Treball de Fi de Grau

Academic Year: 2019-2020

Coordinator: Elsa Tragant (G4)

TITLE:

English-Spanish bilingualism and code-switching in Long Island

STUDENT'S NAME: Gloria del Carmen Salirrosas Peláez

TUTOR'S NAME: Maria Luz Celaya Villanueva

Barcelona, 12 de juny de 2020



Declaració d'autoria

Amb aquest escrit declaro que sóc l'autor/autora original d'aquest treball i que no he emprat per a la seva elaboració cap altra font, incloses fonts d'Internet i altres mitjans electrònics, a part de les indicades. En el treball he assenyalat com a tals totes les citacions, literals o de contingut, que procedeixen d'altres obres. Tinc coneixement que d'altra manera, i segons el que s'indica a l'article 18, del capítol 5 de les Normes reguladores de l'avaluació i de la qualificació dels aprenentatges de la UB, l'avaluació comporta la qualificació de "Suspens".

Barcelona, a 12 de juny de 2020

Signatura:

Abstract

As Spanish is the second language most present in the United States apart from English, many second-generation immigrants have to face the same situation: Spanish, as a heritage language (HL), is commonly relegated to the domestic environment while English, due to be the most spoken language across the country, usually becomes the dominant language of bilinguals. As this situation is even more evident among the Hispanic community of Long Island, the present study, which involves three bilingual teenagers from the community, focuses on the relation between the two languages not only regarding bilingualism but also in relation to code-switching (CS) since the latter is a result of the first. The study shows evidence that Hispanic second-generation immigrants see their proficiency of Spanish affected due to the fact that they receive more significant input in English.

Keywords: English-Spanish bilingualism, code-switching, heritage language, language dominance, Long Island

Síntesis

Como el español es la segunda lengua más presente en los Estados Unidos después del inglés, muchos inmigrantes de segunda generación afrontan la misma situación: el español, como lengua de herencia, es normalmente relegado al entorno doméstico mientras que el inglés, debido a que es la lengua más hablada en el país, normalmente se acaba convirtiendo en la lengua dominante de los bilingües. Debido a que esta situación se hace aún más evidente entre la comunidad hispana de Long Island, el presente estudio, el cual se centra en 3 adolescentes de la comunidad, se basa en la relación entre las dos lenguas con el bilingüismo y el cambio de código, como resultado del primero. El estudio demuestra que los inmigrantes hispanos de segunda generación ven afectada su competencia lingüística con respecto al español debido a que reciben más exposición de calidad en inglés.

Palabras clave: bilingüismo inglés-español, cambio de código, lengua de herencia, lengua dominante, Long Island

Table of contents

1	INTRODUCTION	6
2	REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	7
2.1	<i>Introduction to the review of the literature</i>	7
2.2	<i>How is it determined that someone is bilingual?</i>	7
2.2.1	Classification of bilinguals.....	9
2.2.1.1	Bimodal vs. unimodal bilinguals.....	9
2.2.1.2	Sequential bilinguals vs. simultaneous bilinguals.....	9
2.2.1.3	Balanced vs. unbalanced bilinguals.....	9
2.3	<i>Implications of code-switching</i>	10
2.3.1	Determinants of code-switching.....	12
2.3.1.1	Laziness and effort as key factors in code-switching.....	14
2.4	<i>Bilingual English-Spanish second-generation immigrants in Long Island</i>	15
2.5	<i>Bilingual education policies in the U.S. and in the State of New York</i>	16
3	THE STUDY	18
3.1	<i>Context</i>	18
3.2	<i>Participants</i>	18
3.3	<i>Instrument</i>	18
3.4	<i>Procedure</i>	19
3.5	<i>Results</i>	20
4	DISCUSSION	28
5	CONCLUSIONS	33
6	REFERENCES	35
7	APPENDIX	40

1 INTRODUCTION

It is common knowledge that the United States is the home of a wide range of cultures and that Hispanic immigrants represent a big part of their population. In fact, according to the United States Census Bureau (2019), the Hispanic community in 2019 represented the 18,5% over the whole population. In this sense, it is the presence of Hispanic immigrants in a country where the vehicular language is English, what gives room to the two major topics dealt with in the present paper: English-Spanish bilingualism and code-switching (CS).

On the one hand, bilingualism is generally related to those individuals who have command of at least two languages and moreover, have the same level of competence in both of them (Bialystok, 2009). On the other hand, according to Gardner-Chloros (2010) CS can be defined as the alternation between languages. However, as Birdsong (2014) states there are factors such as language dominance, and therefore imbalance, that affect both bilingualism and CS. In fact, imbalance can be a result of, on the one hand, lack of education in the heritage language (HL), as claimed by (Polinsky & Scontras, 2020) and the factors that determine CS (Gardner-Chloros, 2010).

In fact, there were two main reasons that took part in the decision of the topics of the current paper: bilingualism and CS. It is important to mention that the first, and probably the major reason, was based on my personal experience in Long Island since I noticed the huge presence of Hispanics. The result of this presence in second-generation immigrants, in most of the cases, was English-Spanish bilingualism. However, in other cases, I noticed that although having command of English as well as of Spanish, the latter was the one with which second-generation immigrants had more difficulties. This situation led me to the second reason: the importance of maintaining Spanish competences since it is part of the cultural heritage of second-generation immigrants.

The project starts with a brief introduction (this section) and then follows with the review of the literature (section 2). In it, the paper is divided into the major topics dealt with. First, bilingualism is introduced (section 2.2) in order to have a complete idea of what it involves and the types that exist (section 2.2.1). Secondly, it follows many descriptions of what CS is as well as its implications (section 2.3). It is also explained the main factors that determine the phenomenon of CS (sections 2.3.1). After the two main topics are introduced, they are connected to the focus of the research: English-Spanish

bilinguals who are also second-generation immigrants living in Long Island (section 2.4). Moreover, the paper also gives a perspective of language policies in the U.S., in particular in the State of New York (section 2.5). After the theoretical aspects, the paper moves to the study (section 3), which brings all the concepts together by addressing aspects such as language perception, CS and motivation. The results obtained (section 3.5) are discussed in section 4 and eventually used in the conclusion (section 5).

2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction to the review of the literature

It is widely known that immigration is a very important factor not only around the world but above all focusing on the context of the U.S. Long Island, and therefore the State of New York, are the home of a wide range of nationalities, one of the most significant ones being the Hispanic population (United States Census Bureau, 2019). Focusing on the Hispanic community in Long Island, there are many second-generation immigrants who are bilingual of English and Spanish. However, as English is the “de facto” language in the country (Lo Bianco, 2001), Spanish is a minority language and it is usually reduced to a domestic environment. This situation gives room to the two topics dealt with: bilingualism and code-switching (CS). These two notions are explained first in relation to one another, and secondly in relation to the context of Long Island. In this sense, the close relationship between bilingualism and CS is exposed by addressing second-generation immigrants in Long Island, heritage languages (HL) and bilingual education policies in the State of New York.

2.2 How is it determined that someone is bilingual?

Trying to define bilingualism is not an easy task. In fact, Genesee (2000) makes many attempts trying to define what this phenomenon is. First, he describes bilingualism as the process of acquiring two languages in the period of “primary language development” (Genesee, 2000, p. 3), referring to the period of first exposure to native languages, in order to develop a complete proficiency in them. Moreover, as one of the precursors in the topic assessed, Genesee (2000) states that bilingualism can also consist on the acquisition of a spoken language and a signed language. A third attempt of defining the term and, which the author considers the most suitable one, is the concept of bilingual acquisition as a science that not only should be closely related to the “age of first exposure”, but also refers to the frequency and amount of input of each of the languages involved (Genesee, 2000, p. 167). In fact, Genesee (2000) claims that these aspects play

a very important role in bilingualism studies since bilingual proficiency can result affected from the fact of having too little exposure.

Reaffirming the fact that bilingualism is a difficult term to define, it is important to consider a set of questions in mind that help to develop a profile of the person studied. This is because by answering different what languages the child in question speaks, whether both languages are spoken by the community he or she lives in or what were the reasons that derived in bilingualism may imply a different situation for each one of the children analyzed (Bialystok, 2009). So, according to Bialystok (2009), bilinguals are those individuals who demonstrate the same abilities and the same level of competence in two languages, change from one to another effortlessly and embrace the sociocultural model from each one of the languages. Nevertheless, the author adds that there is still a debate about how it is decided who is bilingual and who is not since there are some researchers who consider bilingual to anyone who has command of two languages, while others, like Cabrera Vergara (2017), restrict the concept to only those who have full control of two languages and switch from one to another effortlessly. This difference and lack of precision surrounding the matter creates a bilingual gradation, which is still nowadays a topic of discussion (Cabrera Vergara, 2017).

So far, the definitions of bilingualism had the common component of the intervention of two languages. However, even this assumed aspect is challenged since Valian (2014, p. 3) describes bilingualism as a process that should take into account the learning of “any number of languages beyond one”. Furthermore, the researcher also points out to the difficulty of stablishing a connection between the fact of being bilingual and the cognitive advantages of it. Valian (2014) attributes this difficulty to the different types or degrees of bilingualism that affect in different ways the executive function. The author exemplifies this situation in the domestic context of the United States, in which children born in bilingual families, in some cases, are not urged by their parents to answer in their “non-English language” and even reject (own will) to do so (Valian, 2014, p. 9). In this sense, the fact of being bilingual is a matter of decision since while “life-long balanced bilinguals who live in a country like the United States ‘choose’ to use their non-English language frequently; others, initially reared similarly ‘choose’ not to remain actively bilingual as they grow up” (Valian, 2014, p. 9).

2.2.1 Classification of bilinguals

2.2.1.1 Bimodal vs. unimodal bilinguals

As regarding the type of bilinguals, the first distinction that needs to be established is the one between bimodal bilinguals and unimodal bilinguals. The former type, bimodal bilingualism, is defined by Emmorey, Borinstein, Thompson & Gollan (2008) as implying the functionality of two systems at the same time, which can only take place in those interlocutors who can communicate in “sign languages” as well as in “spoken languages” (Abutalebi & Clahsen, 2016, p. 221). On the contrary, unimodal or also called “speech-speech” bilinguals (Emmorey, Borinstein, Thompson, & Gollan, 2008, p. 43) have the ability to manage two spoken languages. This means that, unlike non-deaf bimodal bilinguals who code-blend in order to produce sign and spoken language at a time, unimodal bilinguals cannot use their languages simultaneously and, therefore, in order to change from language A to language B, they have to code-switch (Abutalebi & Clahsen, 2016).

2.2.1.2 Sequential bilinguals vs. simultaneous bilinguals

Another typology can be set up from the variable of Age of Immersion (AoI) (Sabourin & Vinerte, 2015) since it gives room to the distinction between sequential and simultaneous bilinguals. On the one hand, as defined by Sabourin et al. (2015), sequential bilinguals acquire first one language (L1) and after a time a second language (L2). On the basis of this fact, Kupisch (2018) subdivides this typology into early sequential bilinguals, who acquire their L2 before the age of 6, and late sequential bilinguals, who acquire their L2 later. On the other hand, simultaneous bilinguals differ from sequential bilinguals, for acquiring “two languages from birth” (Sabourin et al., 2015, p. 351). This means that simultaneous bilinguals learn two languages at the same time, and therefore, unlike sequential bilinguals who have two different systems developed, one for their L1 and another for their L2, they only have one language system which includes their two L1s (Sabourin & Vinerte, 2015).

2.2.1.3 Balanced vs. unbalanced bilinguals

Finally, the dichotomy between balanced and unbalanced bilinguals can be defined according to their strong relationship with language dominance and proficiency, although researchers have not yet achieved a common understanding of these concepts (Silva-Corvalán, et al., 2016). On the one hand, balanced bilingualism is related to the fact of

being more or less equivalent in the proficiency of the two languages of command and having the ability to change effortlessly from one to another (Stocker & Berthele, 2020), while, on the contrary, unbalanced bilingualism is more related to language dominance (Rosselli, Ardila, Santisi, Areco, Salvatierra, Conde & Lenis, 2002). The relationship between proficiency and language dominance can be clearly seen in the study carried out by Rosselli, et al. (2002, p. 819), whose aim is to analyze the performance of “Spanish-English bilinguals on the Golden Stroop Test,” since when grouping the participants it was not enough to divide them into balanced and unbalanced bilinguals. Instead, the researchers needed to subdivide the two main groups into “high-proficient-balanced bilinguals, low-proficient-balanced bilinguals, unbalanced English-dominant bilinguals and unbalanced Spanish-dominant bilinguals” (Rosselli, et al., 2002, p. 821). In this sense, according to Birdsong (2014) this imbalance, then, is a result of one of the two languages of command dominating over the other. Nevertheless, the author adds that this must not be associated with Age of Acquisition (AoA) since having a lowest AoA in the L1, as it occurs in the case of sequential bilinguals (Sabourin et al., 2015), may not always imply dominance in that language. In fact, Birdsong (2014, p. 375) attributes this disassociation to the presence of “dominance shifts” that may appear throughout an individuals’ life.

2.3 Implications of code-switching

As a result of language contact, as it occurs in Long Island which will be later analyzed (section 2.4), and bilingualism, it arises the alternation between languages (Gardner-Chloros, 2010). In fact, as Gardner-Chloros (2010, p. 4) states, such alternation known as CS involves not only the use of various languages, but also the use of various dialects in the same discourse and affects every bilingual “to a greater or lesser extent”. Moreover, the researcher argues that CS has been recognized traditionally as a way of identifying oneself with a community (Gardner-Chloros, 2010). So, for example, if a group of immigrants are having a conversation in English but, one of them switches to Spanish to refer to a particular expression in the conversation and all the interlocutors understand that utterance, they all can be identified as immigrants who have Hispanic roots. However, although sometimes CS can be used to identify some communities, it is important to take into account that nowadays, as a result of immigration and therefore multilingualism, CS is frequently and naturally used in advertising (Gardner-Chloros, 2010).

Focusing on communities, Jevtović et al. (2020) define CS as a variable that depends on contexts. In this sense, the author makes a distinction between the situations which require the speaker either to use only one language or to make a controlled use of their two languages – mandatory contexts –, from the situations in which speakers have freedom to decide whether to use one or two languages – “voluntary contexts” – (Jevtović et al., 2020, p. 401). However, the author claims that there must be a common context shared among bilinguals (speaker and interlocutor) who practice language switching, which is the command of the same two languages in order to communicate successfully. Following the same line as Jevtović et al. (2020), Broersma, Carter, Donnelly & Konopola (2020) agree with the previous perspectives of what CS is and add that generally, in previous decades, CS was viewed as something negative among bilinguals. This may be attributed to the “idealized bilingual” factor which conceived bilinguals as being always balanced and, therefore, CS was considered as being detrimental, for affecting negatively to the development of the two languages (Rosselli, Ardila, Lalwani, & Vélez-Uribe, 2016). However, nowadays the conception of CS is different. In fact, it is considered usually as an asset since it is the clear example of the ease of changing from language A to language B without any difficulty (Rosselli et al., 2016), and therefore, as argued by Fricke & Koostra (2016, p. 183), it illustrates perfectly “the cognitive mechanisms of bilingual production”.

Poplack (1980), who analyzed CS among Puerto Ricans living in New York, proposes in her study a variation of CS, namely code-mixing (CM), which can be defined in terms of integration. The author describes the term as a “seemingly random alternation of two languages” which can take place either between sentences or within them (Poplack, 1980, p. 581). Focusing on the latter case, Poplack (1980) argues that CM only takes place whenever items in language A are integrated to language B’s linguistics, i.e. phonological system, morphological system and syntactic structures. The author exemplifies this situation by portraying the integration of the phonological system. Therefore, according to Poplack (1980), (1) is considered as CM because the American English phonology is integrated in a sentence mainly in Spanish; whereas (2), where rather than integration, adaptation of an English word into Spanish takes place, is considered by the author as an exclusively Spanish sentence.

(1) Leo un MAGAZINE [mægə’zi:n]

(2) Leo un *magazine* [mayə’si:n]

In fact, example (2) can be related to the concept of crosslinguistic influence (CLI) which deals with transfer from any L1's area of linguistics to the L2 (Ortega Duran, 2016). However, it is important to highlight that the terminology surrounding CS and CM is misleading since researchers have not yet achieved a common perspective on the matter (Gardner-Chloros, 2010).

2.3.1 Determinants of code-switching

From a sociolinguistic perspective, there are many factors that determine the situation in which CS may take place (Gardner-Chloros, 2010). In fact, as Gardner-Chloros (2010) differentiates, there are internal factors related to CS within the context of a conversation and external factors. In this sense, regarding external factors affecting CS, they can be divided in two groups. As Gardner-Chloros (2010) argues, the first group considers aspects that are out of the speaker's control and the particular situations in which a language is used; therefore, it can be said that this group focuses on aspects that affect speakers within a specific community. The author exemplifies the previous fact referring to situations in which the speaker might or not code-switch (e.g. business context), the prestige of a particular variety (i.e. language) over the other and the association of each variety to a specific context (Gardner-Chloros, 2010). In fact, focusing on the perception of prestige in relation to a language, it can be said that this factor helps to determine the direction of CS (Gardner-Chloros, 2010). Another aspect that is also addressed by Gardner-Chloros (2010) in relation to external factors is the topic of conversation. However, it does not have the same impact as the factor of register. In fact, Gardner-Chloros (2010) claims that many sociolinguistic researchers have concluded that CS is more probably to occur in informal contexts and in form of intra-sentential CS. Moreover, the second group includes aspects that are directly related to and dependent on the speakers such as their linguistic competences in each of the varieties, the social context that surrounds them (e.g. family, friends), "their attitudes and ideologies, their self-perception and perception of others" (Milroy and Gordon, 2003 in Gardner-Chloros, 2010, p. 43). However, among this factors, Gardner-Chloros (2010, p. 42) claims that it should be considered with more importance "the linguistic characteristics" of each language since this directly influences the utterance.

Regarding the internal factors that are involved within the context of a conversation, it is necessary to consider other types of sociolinguistic determiners of CS. Among these determiners it can be found conversational or pragmatic motivations, one

of the main factors involved in language switching in relation to the speaker's commitment with the message (Gardner-Chloros, 2010). In fact, Gardner-Chloros (2010) illustrates this previous fact by using an example by Gumperz (1982) in which a Chicano in the U.S. alternates English (used to talk about her problems) and Spanish (used to represent the situation through which she was going on) when talking about her problems of quitting smoking. It is remarkable that in addition to the speakers' commitment with the message, CS also depends on the particular situation of a specific community; this idea is supported by Torres Cacoullos & Travis (2018) basing on Poplack (1998), who compared Spanish-English bilingualism of Puerto Ricans in New York and French-English bilingualism of Canadians in Ottawa. In fact, in Poplack's study (1998), it is demonstrated that in the case of Spanish-English Puerto Ricans bilinguals the alternation took place as part of the discourse mode. However, in the case of bilingual Canadians, the alternation between French and English had a rhetorical function. Furthermore, basing on the previous example, Torres Cacoullos & Travis (2018) add that CS of the same language pair may differ across communities.

It is noticeable the fact that external and internal factors are closely related between them and that they might even overlap at some point (Gardner-Chloros, 2010). In fact, as Gardner-Chloros (2010) argues, this interrelation can be attributed to the fact that the connection between the different branches of linguistics is necessary to achieve a complete understanding of why CS occurs. Therefore, the connection between factors affecting CS are not only of sociolinguistic character but also of psycholinguistic character among others (Gardner-Chloros, 2010). This interrelation can be seen in Gardner-Chloros' (2010) study when the author points out that the linguistic proficiency of bilinguals in each of their two languages of command is related to psycholinguistics; however, proficiency is also connected to age, identity and relationships, which are dealt in sociolinguistics. Basing on the original example by the latter author, consider the situation of a teenager second-generation immigrant (see section 2.4) in the U.S. who has command of English and Spanish. If this bilingual travels to his or her parents' home country to meet his or her grandparents, who very possibly be Spanish monolinguals, the linguistic competences the bilingual has in Spanish will determine to some extent his or her social relation with old members of the community.

2.3.1.1 *Laziness and effort as key factors in code-switching*

There have been many investigations focusing on specific communities' motives which have given light to the matter of why bilinguals code-switch; these studies provide "insights from the speakers themselves" (Gardner-Chloros, 2010, p. 14). According to Gardner-Chloros (2010), one of the main motives, and that catches most attention, is the aspect of *laziness*. In this sense, it is common among bilinguals who code-switch to be lazy or to feel tired of "thinking" and therefore, switching to the language that do not require them such effort. To illustrate, consider the situation of a second-generation immigrant bilingual of English and Spanish who addresses to his or her parents in Spanish but outside the domestic environment uses mainly English. In this case, if the second-generation immigrant is mentally tired, he or she may start a conversation with their parents in Spanish but would rapidly switch to English. In fact, switching to the language that requires less effort, as state Rosselli, et al. (2002), is a result of language dominance, which is common among unbalanced bilinguals who present more ease at one language than at the other.

Considering that language switching sometimes depends on the effort required to the bilingual speaker, the question whether to code-switch is an "easy" or "difficult" task arises (Gardner-Chloros, 2010). However, according to Gardner-Chloros (2010) the correct question should be how much effort requires CS, for which the answer depends, among other factors, on the type of bilinguals. On the one hand, the author argues that balanced bilinguals should find CS "easy" or at least not requiring them "much effort". This is because a balanced bilingual has an equal command of his or her two languages and therefore, CS is a deliberate action that is subjected to the interlocutor's preference or language competences (Gardner-Chloros, 2010). On the other hand, Gardner-Chloros (2010, p. 15) argues that in the case of unbalanced bilinguals CS can be considered as a task requiring more effort than to their counterparts and attributes the motive to the language control factor, since the inhibitory system, which is responsible of "preventing it [one of the languages] from coming to the surface," requires effort. Therefore, focusing on the previous example above, if the second-generation immigrant, makes the effort to speak Spanish at home, when mentally tired, he or she might find difficult to select the right expression in Spanish since he or she is dominant in English.

2.4 *Bilingual English-Spanish second-generation immigrants in Long Island*

Bilingualism involves a variety of scenarios, one of them being related to the context of immigration. As Polinsky & Scontras (2020) claim, in this context, second generation children are first exposed, in a naturalistic environment, to a language spoken at home – HL and L1– which is not the dominant language spoken in their community – L2 –. It is the language spoken at home which, although being second-generation immigrants’ L1, individuals appear to be less proficient at when compared to the L2 (Chang, 2016). In fact as Polinsky & Scontras (2020, p. 5) state, the dominant language in the community, for instance English in the case of the United States, “eventually becomes the dominant language of the heritage speaker”. Furthermore, the researchers add that in most cases, this is due to the lack of formal education on the HL. Nevertheless, Rothman (2009) adds that it can be also due to the families’ progressive shift in using the community language at home, since it affects to the amount of input of the HL. For this reason, Rothman (2009, p. 157) claims “it is not surprising that by the time these HL children reach adolescence and young adulthood, their HL resembles in many aspects a second language acquired in adulthood [...]”. In this sense, bilingualism suffers a great imbalance (Polinsky & Scontras, 2020).

All these aspects regarding HL can be applied to the context of Long Island, in the U.S., where as a result of the rapidly growth of the Hispanic population Spanish is a minority language among a majority English-speaking community. In fact, according to the New York State Education Department, in the course of 2018-2019 in Suffolk County, Long Island, white students represented the 54,5% while Hispanic students represented the 30,6%. This proves that Long Island, and to a greater extent the State of New York, are the home of a large community of Hispanic immigrants who, together with African American and Asian ethnicities, have grown “from 16% of Long Island’s population a generation ago in 1990 to 35%” in 2018 (Long Island Index, 2018, p. 33). In relation to the language matter, findings such as those in the *Civil Rights Rollback: U.S. Government Actions to Reduce Civil Rights in Housing and Public Education* (ERASE Racism, 2019) point out that Long Island school districts are racially and income segregated. This involves that, according to the Long Island Index (2018), low-income families, among them African American and Hispanic ones, send their children to high poverty schools which do not offer HL programs and, moreover, are highly concentrated, representing the 24% and 68% of their students respectively. Noticing that, as stated by Thomas-Sunesson,

Hakuta & Bialystok (2018), the education of Spanish as a heritage language (SHL) may improve academic performance of dual language Hispanics with low income in the U.S., who often suffer bullying in form of hate speech promoted by white classmates (Parra-Cardona, et al., 2019), there has been an increase of programs based on this type of instruction in the last decades (Durán Urrea & Meiners, 2019). However, it is important to make a distinction between SHL programs and Spanish as a Second Language programs (SSL) since, as Durán Urrea & Meiners (2019, p. 24) claim, heritage learners have a previous knowledge of vocabulary, grammar and culture related to the language, and therefore, SHL teachers have to build upon already “existing language skills”; instead, SSL students are assumed to have “a level of competence of zero” when they begin. Yet, the researchers add that SHL programs are available to the minority HL speakers that attend low poverty schools (Durán Urrea & Meiners, 2019).

2.5 Bilingual education policies in the U.S. and in the State of New York

Having in mind the globalized world and the fact that nowadays we live in continuous mobility, the purpose of promoting language learning has nowadays moved to issues such as creating a more competent workforce as well as to avoid collective rejection (Alonso-Díaz et al., 2019), the latter being due to the fact that sometimes the language matter is a means of segregating the population according to their ethnicity and cultural identity (Leeman, 2019). As Lo Bianco (2001, p. 4) claims, in the particular case of the United States, although English is the “de facto language” (i.e. dominant language in the nation) the country has no official language. In fact, Lo Bianco (2001) argues that, although there have been many attempts of declaring English as the official language, in order to unify the always present multiculturalism and diversity in the country (Powers, 1995), these attempts did not succeed (Faingold, 2012). In this sense, policies regarding languages depend on the states governments rather than on the federal government (Lo Bianco, 2001). In addition to the matter, Sonntag (2019, p. 41), claims that the differences between states have been triggered as a result of some unconformities to the country’s nationalist and almost “nativist” character under Trump’s rule.

In an attempt to unify language policies in an academic context, the federal government imposed standardized exams, testing among others English competences, for all schools in the country at all levels of education (elementary, middle and high school) with the purpose of ensuring all students the same educational level regardless their race, income and culture (Menken & Avni, 2019). This was known, from 2002 to 2015, as the

No Child Left Behind Act (NCLBA) and later, from 2015 onwards, as the Every student succeeds Act (ESSA) (Menken & Avni, 2019). In fact, as Menken & Avni (2019) assure, both acts had the purpose of making accountable the relationship between school expenditures and students' academic success to the eyes of the federal government; in the case schools did not meet the required progress from the government, they were applied sanctions. As a consequence of these measures, schools were forced to put more emphasis on English rather than on other languages, which affected dramatically to bilinguals, among them HL speakers (Menken & Avni, 2019). However, according to the researchers, from 2015, the government has delegated more power to the states, which implies that although schools still have to get high results from the students they can put in action bilingual education programs (Menken & Avni, 2019).

In the case of New York State, as affirmed by Menken & Avni (2019) it is remarkable the fact that there has been an increase of new bilingual programs. This can be attributed to some key factors that have helped improving and encouraging the study of languages in New York State, which are, on the one hand, the Seal of Biliteracy, adopted in 2012 and earned by last-year high school students who “demonstrate a high level of proficiency” in at least one language apart from English (New York State Department of Education, 2019, p. 7); and on the other hand, the recognition of bilingualism and biliteracy as “assets” in the Blueprint (New York State Education Department, 2019, p. 3).

In relation to what have been exposed so far, the present study aims to answer the following two research questions, one related to bilingualism and the other related to CS respectively:

- (1) Considering that bilingualism implies the command of two languages, which factor(s) makes Hispanic second-generation immigrants consider themselves as bilinguals of English and Spanish?
- (2) Taking into account the findings in the literature review focusing on CS as a result of bilingualism, is CS affected by language dominance in Hispanic second-generation immigrants?

3 THE STUDY

3.1 Context

The present study was based on a long-distance context. In fact, the project was written planed, and carried out from Barcelona. However, the focus of the analysis are 3 adolescents who are the second generation of immigrants of a Hispanic community (bilinguals of English and Spanish) living in Long Island, New York, which place is characteristic among the U.S. due to the rapidly growth of the Hispanic population and therefore, the presence of Spanish as a minority language.

3.2 Participants

The participants of this study are a group of 3 teenagers. In fact, they have been chosen deliberately for several reasons: (1) English is their L1. (2) The fact of being born, and still live in Long Island, place which despite presenting a huge Hispanic community still requires bilinguals to cover communicational needs that overtake their Spanish necessities. Finally, (3) all the participants share in common that they have Hispanic heritage, since at least one of their parents is Peruvian and speaks fluent Spanish at a native level.

It is remarkable that the 3 participants are around the same age, 15 years old, at the time of taking the test. Moreover, in the case of the first participant, both her parents are Peruvian and speak Spanish at a native level; however, in the case of the second and the third participant, their respective fathers are American and their mother tongue is English. It is their respective mothers who are Peruvian, and both are native speakers of Spanish as well as have a native proficiency level of English.

3.3 Instrument

The instrument used in the present study was a questionnaire, which was prepared in order to get real and accurate data from the participants analyzed in this study. In fact, the purpose of the questionnaire is to give an insight of the participants' self-evaluation on topics such their approach to English and Spanish (language perception), bilingualism perception, CS, and motivation. It is important to take into account the self-evaluation character of the study since in order to corroborate the data given by the participants it would be necessary to further examine them in isolation in each of the aspects addressed.

Focusing on the structure of the self-evaluating questionnaire, it is important to note that the participants were asked to be the most sincere as possible and to focus specifically on what was being asked in each of the 26 questions that formed the survey. In fact, the honesty factor has a very important role in the realization of the survey since in various cases, participants were asked to provide explanations to justify their answers. As a matter of fact, the estimated time to carry out the survey is 15 minutes. The results obtained from the participants will be later discussed in section 4 in order to draw a conclusion.

3.4 Procedure

The procedure followed in order to collect data from the participants consisted in designing a questionnaire that would enable them to reflect upon their Spanish and English experience. As the study involved minors, the questionnaire had attached to it a document of consent for the participants' parents basing on the ethical guidelines from the British Association for Applied Linguistics (BAAL) (2000). Once having their approval, the next step was to contact the participants to let them know about the questionnaire and arranging a moment in which all could have a videoconference at the moment of answering the questionnaire. The purpose of the videoconference was to calculate how long it took to finish the task and to give room to the participants to ask any doubt arisen while reading the questions. After all this was ready, on the day scheduled for the videoconference meeting, the questionnaire was sent to the participants via e-mail.

The conditions in which the participants took the questionnaire implied that they were on their own and in silence. It is remarkable to say that only the participant's parents knew what was going to be tested; the participants had not received any information and were unaware about the topic of research. Moreover, the test was at the same moment so there was nothing that could alter it, such as conversations between them. Therefore, the conditions were similar to an exam situation. When the participants already downloaded the questionnaire and opened it, they were told to go through all the questions carefully and to ask any doubt they could come with. Participant 1 had difficulties to understand question 5, which dealt with the languages their parents managed and the languages the participants used to communicate with them. After a clarification, to which the three participants paid attention, they continued without any other doubt. At the time they finished the task, which lasted an average of 13 minutes, they had to send it back via e-

mail in order to process the results (section 3.5) and draw the conclusion (section 5) from them.

3.5 Results

After the videoconference took place and the questionnaire was sent to the participants, the data obtained from the surveys was processed and analyzed in relation to the different parts in which the questions were divided.

The first part consisted of three general questions which asked the participants – P1, P2 and P3 from now on – about their gender, age, and place of birth. In fact, all the three participants claimed to be female and to have been born in the State of New York. It has to be taken into account that in the case of P1 and P2, they answered to have been born in Suffolk County and in West Islip respectively (both answers refer to Suffolk County in Long Island). In the case of P3, it was not specified the exact location inside the State of New York where the participant was born. Moreover, a similar division takes place between, on the hand P1 and P2, who both claimed to be 15 years old at the time of taking the questionnaire, and on the other hand P3, who assured to be 16. Although there are slight differences in the survey respondents' answers, it can be said that, as for the general questions, the group of participants is almost homogeneous.

The second section of the questionnaire, which consists of question 4 and 5, dealt with the environment the participants were or are usually exposed to in relation to language. Question 4 asked if they have ever spent long periods of time (considering more than one month) in any Spanish-speaking city and where. Two of them answered positively to the question, whereas P3 answered negatively. Moreover, P1 and P2 coincided in the location: Trujillo, Peru. Question 5 asked what languages their parents speak and what language use the participants to address to them; this information has been split up into two, figure 1a and 1b below. On the one hand, P1 answered that her parents speak Spanish and therefore she communicates with them in that language. Contrary to the previous case, P3 claimed that both her parents speak English and she always uses that language to communicate with them, although her mother speaks native Spanish also. Another situation takes place in the case of P2, who answered that, on the one hand, when she has to address exclusively to her mother, who speaks Spanish and English, she uses mainly Spanish. On the other hand, when she addresses exclusively to

her father, who is a fluent speaker of English but is learning Spanish, or to both of them at the same time, she only uses English.

Figure 1a. What language(s) do your parents speak?

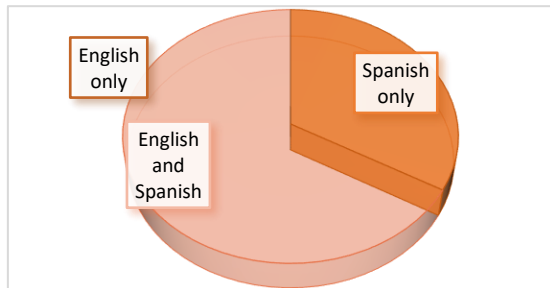
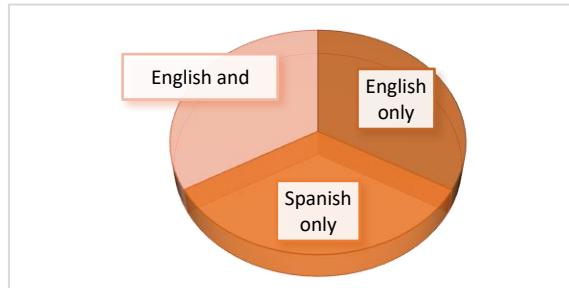


Figure 1b. What languages do you use to communicate with your parents?



From questions 6 to 10 the study focuses on the participants' reflections upon their English and Spanish. As for question 6 (figure 2) which was of multiple response, all the three participants claimed that they learned Spanish at home. However, in the case of P3 claimed that apart from at home, she had learned Spanish also at school. In the case of question 7, which corresponds to figure 3, the answer was unanimous.

Figure 2. How did you learn Spanish?

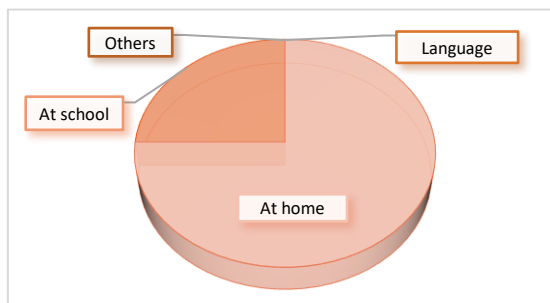
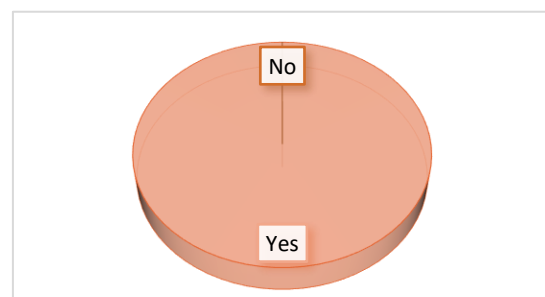
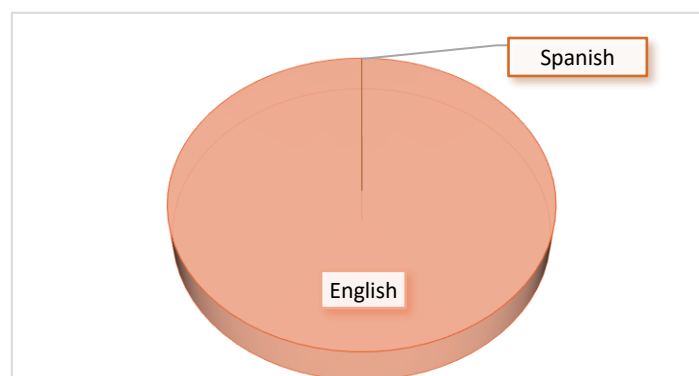


Figure 3. Do you think that you know Spanish and that you speak it fluently?



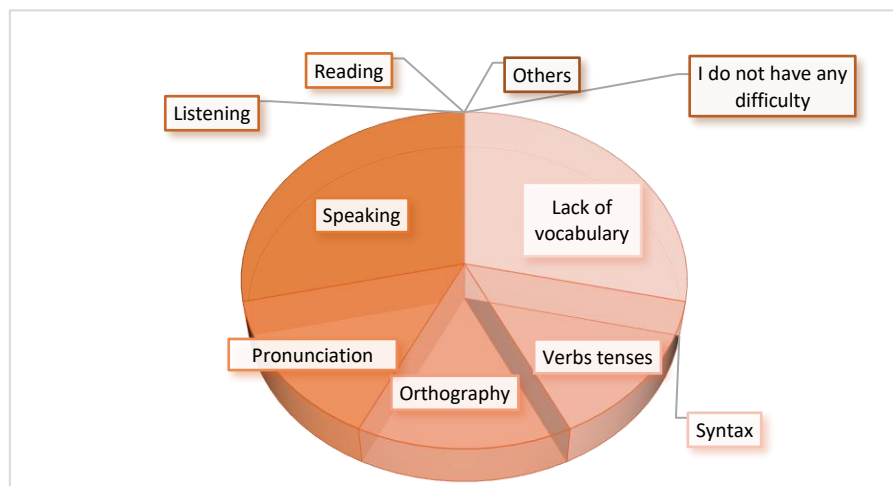
In question 8, as it can be seen below in figure 4, again the answer was unanimous.

Figure 4. Which language do you use more frequently?



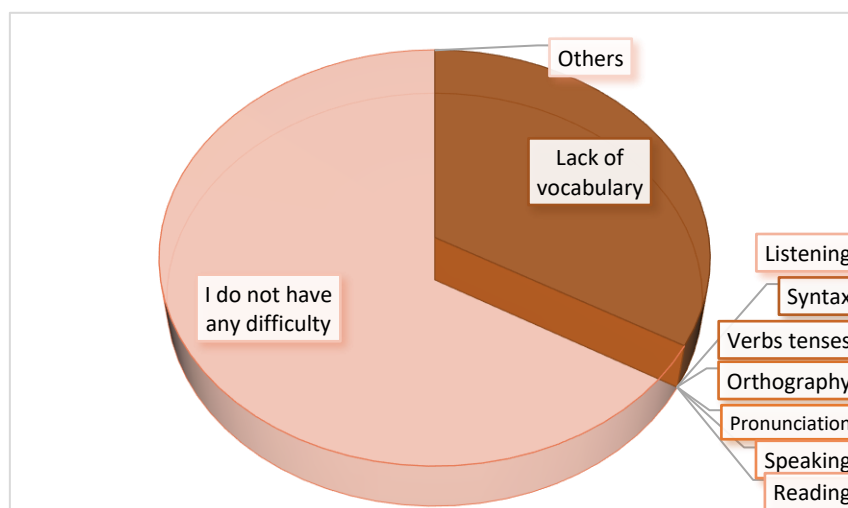
In the case of question 9 (figure 5), which was multiple choice, the results are varied since the participants were allowed to choose all the answers that they considered suitable in their respective situations.

Figure 5. Your difficulties with Spanish are related to...



As for question 10, which corresponds to figure 6 below, the focus moved to English language. In this case, P2 and P3 answered that they did not have any difficulty in English. However, P1 responded that she had problems in relation to lack of vocabulary.

Figure 6. Your difficulties with English are related to...



The next section of the questionnaire, which consists of question 11 and 12, is related to the contexts of language use. In this sense, question 11, which corresponds to figure 7, focuses on Spanish while 12 (figure 8) focuses on English. Moreover, both questions were of multiple answers.

Figure 7. In which situations do you use Spanish?

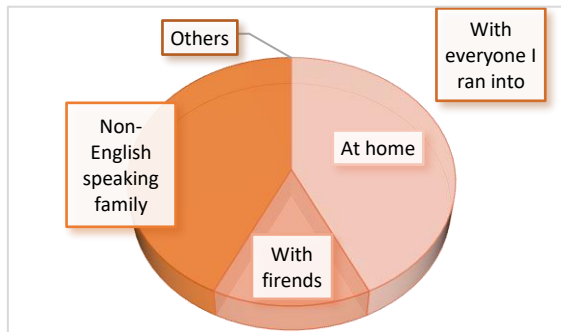
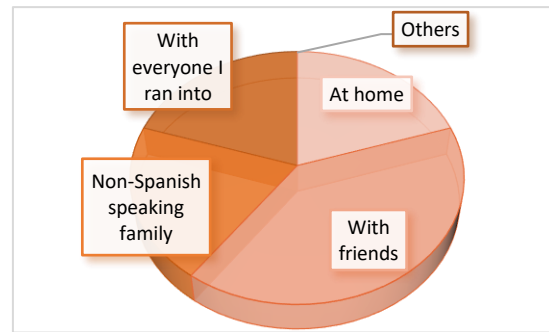
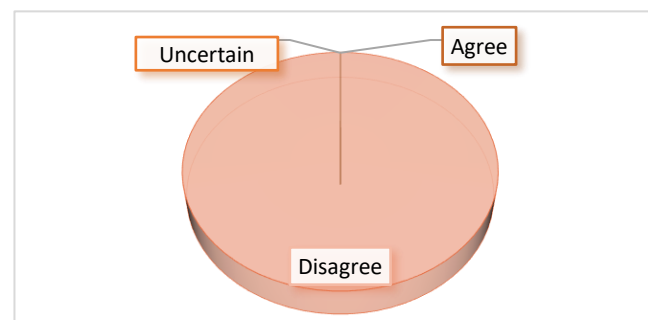


Figure 8. In which situations do you use English?



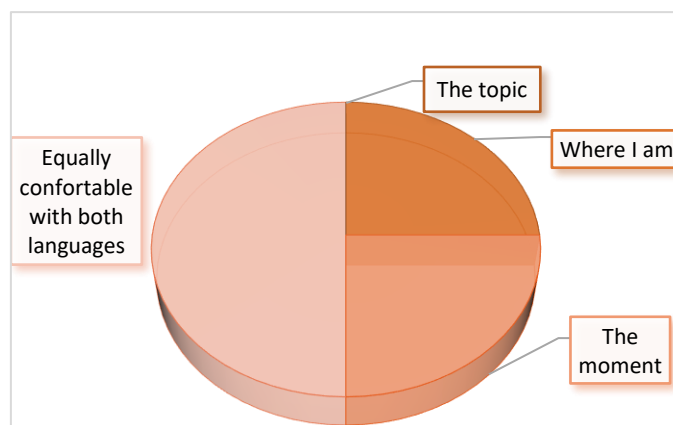
Question 13 (figure 9) asked the participants about their personal opinion on whether English should be the only language taught in schools in the United States. Again, the answer was unanimous.

Figure 9. English should be the only language taught in schools in the United States.



Question 14 (figure 10) is related to the determinants of language use. In fact, this question was also of multiple response and some of the options included details that do not appear in the graphic due to matters of space. For example, option *b* appeared in the questionnaire as “Where I am (public, private, home, school, hanging out with friends...)” as well as option *c*, originally appeared as “The moment (sometimes I’m tired and I don’t want to make any effort speaking in the language in which I have more difficulties)”. Moreover, it must be taken into account that P2 claimed feeling equally comfortable with both languages (option *d*), but at the same time feeling more comfortable using English depending on the moment (option *c*) since she usually do not want to make any effort (using Spanish) when she is tired. Contrary to P2, P3 claimed that, depending where she was (option *b*), she felt more comfortable using English. P1 answered that she felt equally comfortable with both languages.

Figure 10. I feel comfortable communicating in one language or another (please specify whether you refer to English and Spanish) depending on...



The next section deals with bilingualism perceptions. In this sense, in question 15, displayed in figure 11, two of the participants answered positively to the question. Moreover, they justified their answers by claiming: “I’m used to the way I speak to my family members and my friends, and it’s just a natural thing for me” (P1); and “I learned both at an early age and have been using both all my life” (P2). P3 answered negatively to the question and added that she “was better at English” since she had learned it first. In relation to this, question 16, which corresponds to figure 12, asked the participants whether they considered they were more proficient at one of the two languages, to what they all answered “yes”.

Figure 11. Do you consider Spanish and English both your native languages?

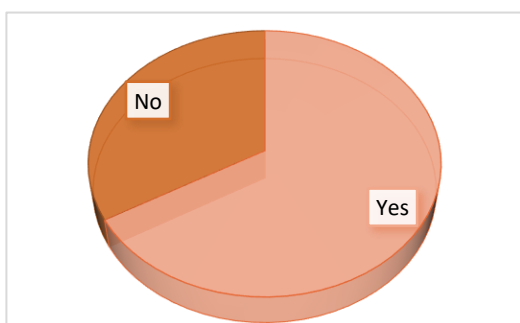
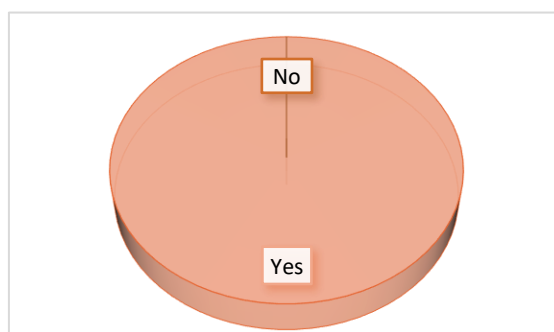


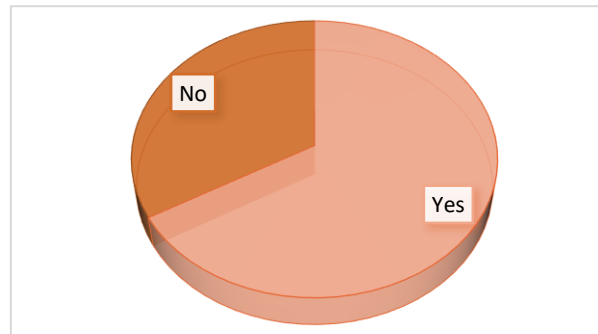
Figure 12. Do you consider you are more as proficient in one language than the other?



In question 17, an open question related to racial segregation seen below in figure 13, the participants were asked whether they had ever experimented any type of racism. Two of them answered positively while one of them assured that she had never experienced something like that. In fact, P2 claimed that she had been called *white* and as

well as some people in her school said in Spanish that she did not know the language thinking that she would not understand them. In the case of P3, she claimed that people in her school looked at her weird whenever they heard her talking Spanish on the phone.

Figure 13. Have you ever experienced any type of racism or any situation in which someone has made you feel uncomfortable for using Spanish?



The following two questions, which are related to CS perception, were of multiple answer. In the case of question 18, as seen in figure 14, the answer was unanimous: they code-switch because they did not know the expression. However, in question 19, as illustrated in figure 15, the answers were equally divided into option *a* (explain in Spanish what they meant by using other words) and option *c* (Say the word in English but continue the conversation in Spanish).

Figure 14. When in a conversation in English or Spanish you switch to an expression in Spanish or English it is because...

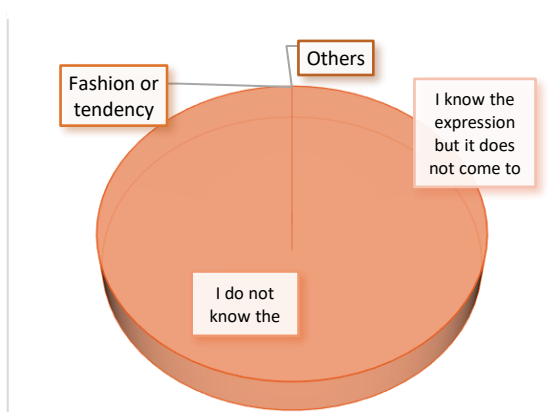
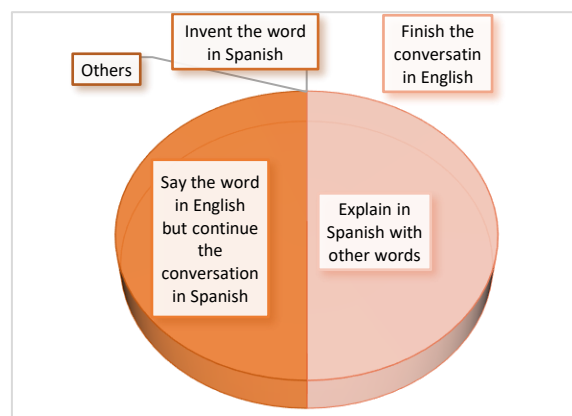


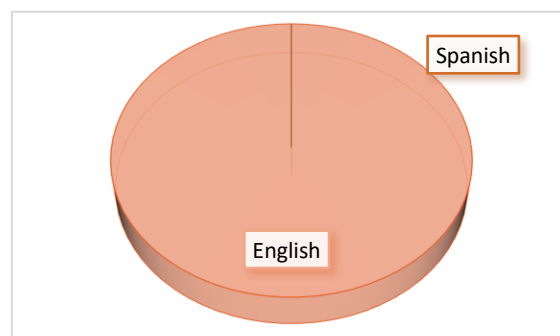
Figure 15. When in a conversation in Spanish you do not know how to say something, you...



The next question, as it can be seen in figure 16, is related to bilingualism perception and language dominance. Once again, the answer was unanimous. The participants felt more confident with English rather than Spanish. P1 justified her answer

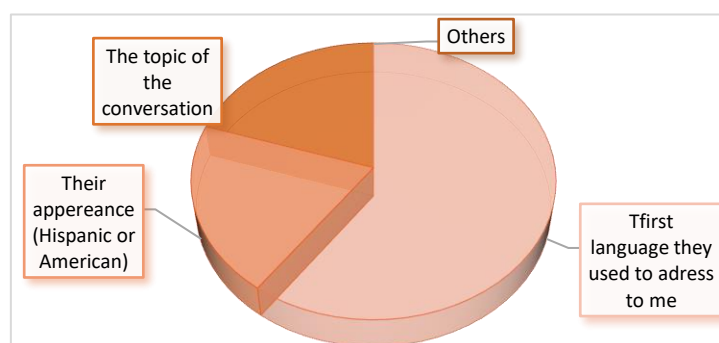
by assuring that she felt more confident with English because she could pronounce words better and speak fluently; in addition, it was her “first language”. Similarly, P2 answered that English was the language with which she felt more confident and argued that it was because she had spent more time at school learning it, she knew better the grammar and used it with a lot of people around her. P3 responded more or less in the same way. She claimed that English was her “native language” and she was scared of messing up in Spanish.

Figure 16. When communicating, with which language do you feel more confident?



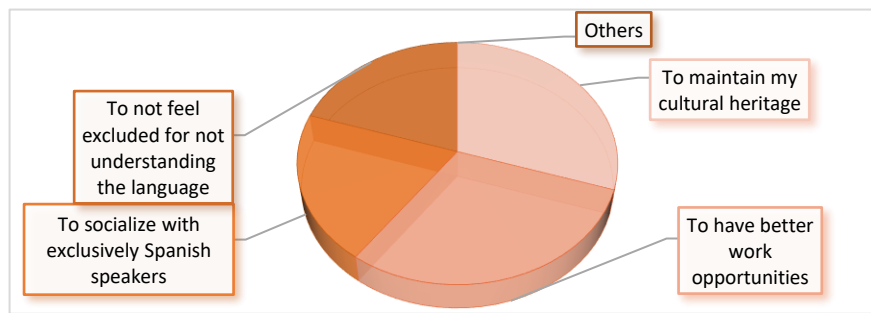
Question 21 (figure 17) is related to other determiners of language use since it asked directly about the element that the participants thought that determine the choice of language to address someone. This question was also of multiple response.

Figure 17. What element do you think that determines the language in which you are going to address to someone?



Similarly, to the previous question, the next one, illustrated by figure 18, is also of multiple answer. In fact, it is related to the participants motivation(s).

Figure 18. What is your purpose to continue learning Spanish?



The following section is related with the opportunities the participants have to use Spanish. In both questions, 23 and 24 which correspond to figures 19 and 20 respectively, participants justified their answers. In the case of 23, P1, who said that she did use Spanish normally added that it is because she lives with Hispanics and they all use Spanish to communicate between them. As for P2 and P3, they both referred to the lack of people around them speaking fluent Spanish. In addition, P3 added that she does not use Spanish so much because her mother, the only one in her house who speaks Spanish, always speaks English to her. In the case of question 24, to which the three participants answered negatively, the remarks were varied. In the case of P1, she argued that the lack of opportunities to practice Spanish in class is due to the fact that she takes French as an optative language instead of Spanish. Similarly, P2 takes French classes instead of Spanish, but in her case it was because the Spanish classes were too easy for her at the beginning. However, she points out that she has many Spanish-speaking friends at school with whom she talks in Spanish “on the occasion”. Contrary to these participants, although taking Spanish classes, P3 claimed that she does not have enough opportunities to practice it in class because they are focused on writing rather than on speaking.

Figure 19. Do you use Spanish as much as you would like to?

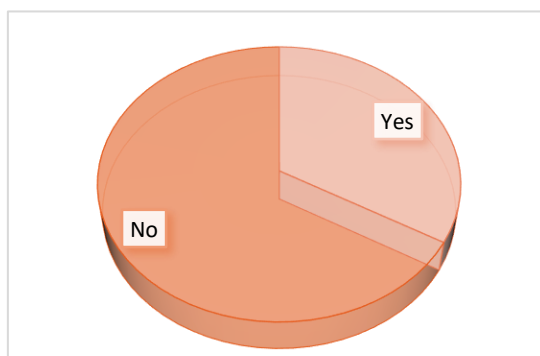
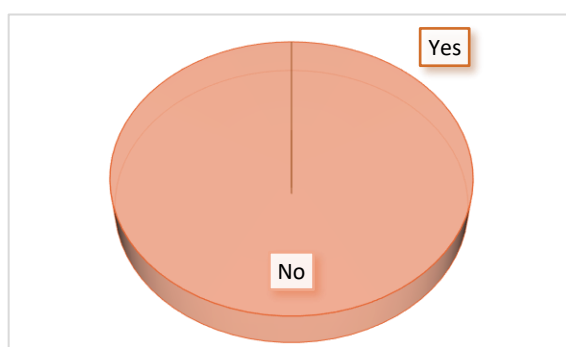


Figure 20. Do you think you have enough opportunities to practice your Spanish in class?



The last section is associated to the participants' opinion about how Spanish should be taught in class. For question 25, illustrated above by figure 21, basing on the fact that two of the participants had claimed before that they do not take Spanish classes, they chose the answer "others" since one of them was not sure about what to answer but the other suggested that teachers could promote conversation in Spanish between classmates. As for P3, who do takes classes in Spanish, chose option *a* (adding audiovisual content such as tv series or films) and option *c* (reducing the amount of theory and adding more interactional content. In the case of question 26 (figure 22), the answer was unanimous.

Figure 21. In which way would you improve your Spanish classes at school?

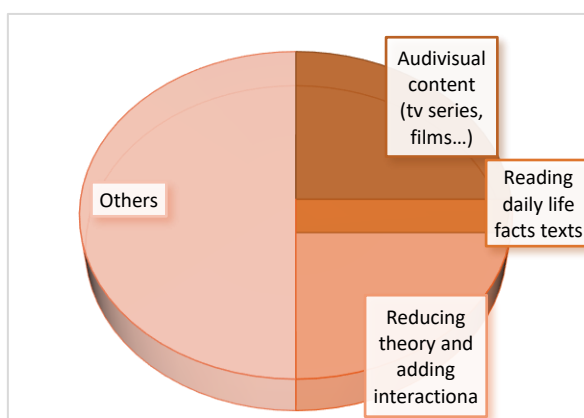
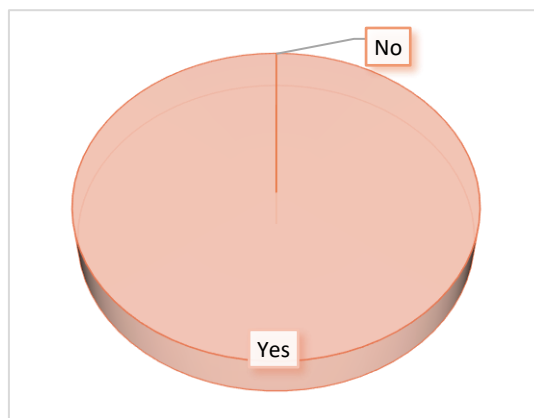


Figure 22. If you had the opportunity, would you like to take more classes of Spanish in order to improve your communicating skills?



4 DISCUSSION

Focusing on the results presented in the section above and considering the two research questions of the present paper, the analysis of the previous section is oriented to the two main topics of this study: Bilingualism and CS. In this sense, the questionnaire is divided in two parts, each one of them aimed to answer one of the research questions.

As regards bilingualism and therefore the first research question, it is needed to consider the particular set of questions from the survey which are related to the topic. First, questions 4 and 5 are related to the Spanish input the participants have or are used to receive. Considering that the results show that P1 and P2 speak Spanish at home and that they have spent long periods of time in a Spanish-speaking city, contrary to P3, it can be said that P3 is exposed to a lesser amount of input compared to the rest of the participants. This factor, according to Genesee (2000), is closely linked to the proficiency

of the language, in this case Spanish, and therefore P3's capacities of command of Spanish may be much inferior than those of P1 and P2, whom have more exposure to the language. Furthermore, the findings also show P3's lack of naturalistic exposure to Spanish, which, as Polinsky & Scontras (2020) claim, is an essential factor in order to determine whether a particular language is considered as HL.

Analyzing the participants' relation with both languages separate from one another, the focus is on the results obtained from questions 6 to 10. Although two of the participants have more input of Spanish, one of them P1, since they speak it in a domestic environment, P1 claimed to have more difficulties with Spanish than P2 and P3. In this sense, P1 shows a great imbalance not only compared to the other participants, but also compared to the skills related to English she claims she has. In fact, as researchers stated, this imbalance can be attributed to two factors: language dominance and lack of formal education of the HL (Polinsky & Scontras, 2020). Both factors can be associated with P1. Moreover, it is not surprising that P1 has a lower proficiency level of Spanish as compared to English. In fact, this is quite normal among HL speakers since when they face imbalance related to the L1 (i.e. HL), researchers such as Rothman (2009) define the situation as incompleteness of L1 acquisition.

Another important fact is the absence of SHL programs. In fact, focusing on P3, it is remarkable to notice that according to her results, it is supposed that the participant did not received Spanish education from a SHL program, rather she attended a SSL program. This is mainly due to the fact that although P3 claimed to have learnt Spanish at school and at home, she also assured that, while at home, she was always spoken English. Therefore, if the participant had no significant Spanish input, her knowledge and level of proficiency of Spanish was too low for her to be considered as a candidate for a SHL program, which as stated by Durán Urrea & Meiners (2019), heritage learners need to have a base of the language in question and so that teachers focus on content that can be added to the existing capacities students have.

In relation to bilingualism, the following participants' perceptions must be taken into consideration. The main focus of analysis are the participants' justifications on whether they considered themselves bilinguals. Regarding P1 argument, she can be associated to a typical second-generation immigrant bilingual of English and Spanish but being English dominant (Rosselli, et al., 2002). This is because by making a clear

distinction of the contexts in which she uses Spanish or English, it is noticeable the major amount of exposure to one of the languages, in this case English, to which Genesee (2000) refers. Moreover, it is not surprising that English is P1's dominant language since, as claimed by Chang (2016), second generation immigrants usually are less proficient in their L1 (HL) than in their L2. In the case of P2's justification, which refers to AoI, it cannot be decided whereas she is an early sequential bilingual or whether she is a simultaneous bilingual (Sabourin et al., 2015) since the participant does not mention specifically the AoI to each language. In addition, the fact that P3 claims to be English-dominant as a consequence of having been educated in English demonstrates that, although according to Durán Urrea & Meiners (2019) claimed that there had been an increase of SHL programs, these programs do not reach all students and therefore imbalance becomes a resultative aspect of lack of education in the HL, as Polinsky & Scontras (2020) argue.

On the contrary, P3 clearly recognizes herself as not being bilingual as a result of her late AoI and being English dominant. However, having a late AoI is not an impediment for becoming bilingual since it exists the category of late sequential bilinguals (Sabourin & Vinerte, 2015). In fact the participant's association between AoI and language dominance shows that she has a general idea of the concept of bilingualism in which elements such as significant input, like in one of Genesee's (2000) definitions of the term, and language dominance (Birdsong, 2014) are not taken into account. Also, it is needed to consider what Birdsong (2014) refers to as dominance shifts throughout someone's life. In this sense, the lack of precision and, thus, lack of knowledge surrounding the matter of bilingualism is a problematic aspect since it can confuse uninformed teenagers (Cabrera Vergara, 2017).

In addition to language dominance it is important to pay attention to the opportunities bilinguals are presented with use either one language or another. According to the results one of the main problems is the lack of Spanish-speaking interlocutors. This situation poses such a problem to participants since it is known that an essential component in order to communicate successfully is to share the same code between the speaker and the interlocutor (Jevtović et al., 2020). Another problem to which the participants refer continuously deals with the formal education of Spanish. The fact that two of the participants take French classes instead of Spanish arises two possibilities: (1) that their respective schools do not offer SHL programs and therefore SSL programs were

two easy for the participants and (2) that their respective schools do not offer any type of Spanish programs. However, the second possibility is not likely to be true since one of the participants claimed that the reason why she did not take Spanish classes was because they were too easy for her. This is an evidence of the first possibility, in fact, since it shows that P2's school do not offer a SHL program. Moreover, in the case of P3, who claimed that her Spanish classes focus on writing, also coincides with the first possibility since this situation is particular of SSL programs which, as Durán Urrea & Meiners (2019) claim, focus on teaching from the very basics. What is more, it can be inferred that the SSL program might not be well constructed since other competences, such as speaking, are not well addressed or not even addressed at all. Indeed, the fact that participants suggest how Spanish classes should be addressed shows their interest in being educated as bilinguals since they recognize the main benefits of it, which follow Alonso-Díaz et al. (2019) predictions: to improve their CV and to be part of the community so that they do not feel rejected or excluded by language issues.

In fact, regarding English language it can be retrieved that although the three participants considered that more languages apart from English should be taught in the U.S., which shows their multicultural character (Powers, 1995), it is not a shared opinion among all U.S. citizens. In fact, it is the opposite opinion to the participants' what creates racial segregation according to what mentions Leeman (2019). Moreover, the fact that participants experienced racial segregation in their schools is an evidence that Long Island schools are racially and income segregated, as pointed out by the organization Erase Racism (2019) and Parra-Cardona et al. (2019).

Therefore, going back to the first research question "Considering that bilingualism implies the command of two languages, which factor(s) makes Hispanic second-generation immigrants consider themselves as bilinguals of English and Spanish?" it can be argued that there are many elements that take part in this decision. The first aspect to take into account is the cultural heritage. In this sense, the fact of having Hispanic parents and family members implies being presented the culture and being constantly exposed to the language, which are some factors that makes participants consider themselves as bilinguals. However, this idea does not always follow a straight line since in the case of P3, for example, it is noticeable that it is not enough to being acquainted with the culture, instead significant input is what makes the participants to develop skills in Spanish and therefore, it gives them confidence to express in Spanish in the same way in which they

express in English. To this factor it is added the presence of formal education of the HL. In this sense, if there is lack of significant input in an educational environment or outside the class, the learner will lack some skills and therefore, although his or her skills get to resemble those of a balanced bilingual, the learner will be English dominant since it is the language to which he or she has more significant exposure.

When it comes to CS, and therefore the second research question, it is important to focus on three main factors: the contexts of language use, the determinants of language use and CS perception. First, context of language use can be analyzed according to Spanish on the one hand and English, on the other hand. Therefore, focusing on Spanish, it can be said that it is remarkable the small range of answers the participants chose referring only to the domestic environment and with non-English speaking relatives. This situation is associated to the mandatory contexts mentioned by Jevtović et al. (2020) in which the fact of dealing with individuals who do not know English leave participants with the only option of communicating with them in Spanish. On the contrary, when dealing with English, participants chose a much wider range of options. This demonstrates they have more opportunities to use English than Spanish, thus Spanish is a minority language in their community, as Polinsky & Scontras (2020) describe. Moreover, once again this can be associated with the amount of significant input since Spanish's is much lower than English input, factor which affects the participants by making their dominant language the one in which participants show better proficiency (Genesee, 2000).

In relation to the determinants of language use, the results are divided into external factors and internal factors. On the one hand, external factors include some of the participants' answers such as "where I am (public, private...), topic of conversation, the first language that they use to address to me" and the interlocutor's appearance. These answers are considered as external factors that determine CS since as Gardner-Chloros (2010) argues, external factors are related to aspects that are out of an individual's control. On the other hand, internal factors were described by the author (Gardner-Chloros, 2010) in relation to an individual's skills and proficiency in one language, in this case participants' HL. This is associated to the option "depending on the moment (sometimes I am tired and I don't want to make any effort speaking in the language in which I have more difficulties)" to which P2 referred to Spanish. Therefore, according to Rosselli et al. (2002) this internal factor is connected to language dominance, English in the case of

the participants, since it is the language which requires less effort from them and therefore, participants are more proficient in it.

As regards CS perception, it is important to consider why the participants code-switch. Regarding this topic, there are two answers that must be analyzed. On the one hand, the fact that participants try to explain in Spanish what they mean when they do not know the appropriate term, shows that participants make an effort to use their Spanish mental lexicon and, thus, try to inhibit English. This idea is supported by Gardner-Chloros (2010) since the researcher claims that unbalanced bilinguals have to control their inhibitory system. On the other hand, the fact of uttering an English word in a Spanish conversation as a result of lack vocabulary demonstrates that participants do not control their inhibitory system and therefore, rapidly switch to their dominant language when they do not know an expression in their less-proficient language (Gardner-Chloros, 2010). In fact, this is a result of language dominance, as Rosselli et al. (2002) state.

Considering the three aspects related to CS and the second research question related to the topic: “Taking into account the findings in the literature review focusing on CS as a result of bilingualism, is CS affected by language dominance in Hispanic second-generation immigrants?” it can be said that, indeed, language dominance is one of the main factors affecting CS. This is because on the one hand the lack of opportunities to use Spanish results in a great imbalance due to the lack of significant exposure to the language. Moreover, laziness or tiredness factors give room to the difficulty of making an effort to inhibit the dominant language. In this sense, CS from Spanish to English is completely affected by language dominance since participants feel more comfortable using the language in which they have more proficiency. Finally, related to what have been previously mentioned, language dominance also arises when there is a spot needed to be filled but participants do not have the knowledge in their minority language.

5 CONCLUSIONS

To conclude with, the present study dealt with the relation established between on the one hand, bilingualism and CS and, on the other hand, a HL. This connection was established and analyzed in the context of Spanish-English bilinguals in Long Island since the presence of the big Hispanic community in the region promoted that Spanish was restricted to a private environment as a result of English being the common language among the U.S. Therefore, in the review of the literature it was exposed what bilingualism

and CS involve and the factors that affect to them, in relation to the input individuals receive. In order to analyze these factors there were two research questions that needed to be answered from a questionnaire passed to three teenagers who are the second generation of immigrants of a Hispanic community and are bilingual speakers of Spanish and English.

According to the findings from the questionnaire, it can be concluded that cultural heritage has a big role in creating the identity of a bilingual. However, this does not imply that a second-generation immigrant who has Hispanic heritage is a bilingual of Spanish and English. As a matter of fact, as seen in the discussion, bilingualism is affected by language dominance as a result of individuals having more significant exposure to one of the languages. Such imbalance can also affect to CS since the fact of having to code-switch can be related to lack of acquisition of the HL (i.e. Spanish), fact which is necessarily associated to language dominance. Therefore, the education of Spanish either as a HL or as a second language becomes essential to maintain the level of linguistic skills. However, it is important to see the difference between both approaches since sometimes as seen in the results, offering a program that is not appropriate for a particular individual can be a contradictory factor. This is because for example offering a SSL program to a student who already knows how to speak the language can be too easy for he or she; as a result the student may opt to learn another language which challenges his or her language skills. In this sense the present paper emphasizes the importance of maintaining a formal education of the heritage language in order not to present imbalance in bilingualism and therefore, to evidence that CS demonstrates the ease bilinguals have to change from one language to another rather than to show that CS is a result of the lack of formal education in the HL.

6 REFERENCES

- Abutalebi, J., & Clahsen, H. (2016). Bimodal Bilingualism: Language and Cognition. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 19(2), 221-222.
- Alliance for Quality Education, Public Policy and Education Fund of New York and Long Island Progressive Coalition. (2009). *Moving Towards Educational Equity? How is New York State's School Funding Reform Impacting Educational Equity on Long Island?*
- Alonso-Díaz, L., Delicado, G., & Ramos, F. (2019). A Comparative Study of Bilingual Teacher Preparation Programs in California and Spain. In B. Guzmán Johannessen (Ed.), *Bilingualism and Bilingual Education: Politics, Policies and Practices in a Globalized Society* (pp. 81-101). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Bialystok, E. (2001). Faces of Bilingualism. In E. Bialystok, *Bilingualism in Development: Language, Literacy, and Cognition* (pp. 1-20). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bialystok, E. (2009). Bilingualism: the Good, the Bad, and the Indifferent. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 12(1), 3-11.
- Birdsong, D. (2014). Dominance and Age in Bilingualism. (O. U. Press, Ed.) *Applied Linguistics*, 35(4), 374-392.
- British Association for Applied Linguistics. (2000). *Recommendations for Good Practice in Applied Linguistics Student Projects*.
- Broersma, M., Carter, D., Donnelly, K., & Konopka, A. (2020). Triggered Codeswitching: Lexical Processing and Conversational Dynamics. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 23(2), 295-308.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1366728919000014>
- Cabrera Vergara, I. (2017). Dominar Dos Idiomas vs. Bilingüismo. Definiendo un Bilingüismo Inclusivo y Operativo. *Thélème Revista Complutense de Estudios Franceses*, 23-33.
- Carmel, E. (2011). European Union Migration Governance: Utility, Security and Integration. In E. Carmel, A. Cerami, & T. Papadopoulos (Eds.), *Migration and*

- Welfare in the New Europe: Social Protection and the Challenges of Integration* (pp. 49-66). Bristol: Policy Press.
- Chang, C. B. (2016). Bilingual Perceptual Benefits of Experience with a Heritage Language. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 19(4), 791-809.
doi:10.1017/S1366728914000261
- Ding, G. (2016). Code-blending and Language Control in Bimodal Bilinguals. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 19(2), 246-247.
- Durán Urrea, E., & Meiners, J. G. (2019). *Creating and Implementing Open Educational Resources for the Spanish as a Heritage Language Classroom*. New York. Retrieved from
<https://eric.ed.gov/contentdelivery/servlet/ERICServlet?accno=ED596837>
- Emmorey, K., Borinstein, H. B., Thompson, R., & Gollan, T. H. (2008). Bimodal Bilingualism. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 11(1), 43-61.
- ERASE Racism. (2009). *8 Key Facts about Long Island School Districts*.
- Faingold, E. D. (2012). Official English in the Constitutions and Statutes of the Fifty States in the United States. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 36(2), 136-148.
- Fricke, M., & Kootstra, G. J. (2016). Primed Codeswitching in Spontaneous Bilingual Dialogue. *Journal of Memory and Language*, 91, 181-201.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jml.2016.04.003>
- Gardner-Chloros, P. (2010). Code-switching in conversation. En P. Gardner-Chloros, *Code-switching* (págs. 65-90). Cambridge University Press.
- Gardner-Chloros, P. (2010). *Code-Switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
doi:<https://doi-org.sire.ub.edu/10.1017/CBO9780511609787>
- Gardner-Chloros, P. (2010). Social factors in code-switching. In P. Gardner-Chloros, *Code-Switching* (pp. 42-64). Cambridge University Press.
- Genesee, F. (2000). Introduction. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 167-172.
- Gumperz, J. J. (1982). Discourse Strategies. En P. Gardner-Chloros, *Code-switching* (págs. 66-90). Cambridge University Press.

- Jevtović, M., Andoni Duñabeitia, J., & de Bruin, A. (2020). How do Bilinguals Switch Between Languages in Different Interactional Contexts? A Comparison between Voluntary and Mandatory Language Switching. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 23(2), 401-413. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1366728919000191>
- Kupisch, T. (2018). Introduction: Recent Developments in Early Bilingualism. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 21(4), 653-655.
- Leeman, J. (2019). Measured Multilingualism: Census Language Questions in Canada and the United States. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *Language Politics and Policies: Perspectives from Canada and the United States* (pp. 114-134). Cambridge University Press.
- Lo Bianco, J. (2001). *What Is the Problem? Official English in the U.S.A.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Association for Applied Linguistics.
- Long Island Index. (2018). *2018 Indicators Report*. Rauch Foundation.
- Mechelli, A., Crinion, J. T., Noppeney, U., O'Doherty, J., Ashburner, J., Frackowiak, R. S., & Price, C. J. (2004). Structural Plasticity in the Bilingual Brain. *Nature*, 431, 757.
- Menken, K., & Avni, S. (2019). Language Policy Conflicts: New York City's Efforts to Expand Bilingual Education Amidst English-Only Pressures. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *Language Politics and Policies: Perspectives from Canada and the United States* (pp. 153-172). Cambridge University Press.
- New York State Department of Education. (2019). *The New York State Seal of Biliteracy 2018-19*. Report, Office of Bilingual Education and World Languages.
- New York State Education Department. (2018-2019). *New York State Education at a Glance*. Retrieved from <https://data.nysed.gov/>
- New York State Education Department. (2019). *Blueprint for English Language Learner/ Multilingual Learner Success*. Report, The University of the State of New York, Office of Bilingual Education and World Languages.

- Ortega Duran, M. (2016). Crosslinguistic Influence in L2 English Oral Production: The Effects of Cognitive Language Learning Abilities and Input. 1-396.
doi:http://hdl.handle.net/10803/401091
- Parra-Cardona, R., López-Zerón, G., Leija, S. G., Mass, M. K., Villa, M., Zamudio, E., . . . Domenech Rodríguez, M. M. (2019). A Culturally Adapted Intervention for Mexican-Origin Parents of Adolescents: The Need to Overtly Address Culture and Discrimination in Evidence-Based Practice. *Family Process*, 58(2), 334-352. doi:https://doi.org/10.1111/famp.12381
- Polinsky, M., & Scontras, G. (2020). Understanding Heritage Languages. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 23(1), 4-20.
doi:https://doi.org/10.1017/S1366728919000245
- Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll Start a Sentence in Spanish Y TERMINO EN ESPAÑOL: Toward a typology of code-switching. *Linguistics*, 18(7-8), 581-618. doi:https://doi.org/10.1515/ling.1980.18.7-8.581
- Poplack, S. (1998). Contrasting Patterns of Code-switching in two Communities. In R. Torres Cacoullos, & C. E. Travis, *Bilingualism in the Community: Code-switching and Grammars in Contact* (pp. 13-34). Cambridge University Press.
doi:DOI: 10.1017/9781108235259
- Powers, F. (1995). *English as Official Language: An Act of Unification or Segregation*. Washington, DC: Joint National Committee for Languages.
- Ricento, T. (2019). Introduction. In T. Ricento (Ed.), *Language Politics and Policies: Perspectives from Canada and the United States* (pp. 1-24). Cambridge University Press.
- Rosselli, M., Ardila, A., Lalwani, L. N., & Vélez-Urbe, I. (2016). The Effect of Language Proficiency on Executive Functions in Balanced and Unbalanced Spanish-English Bilinguals. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 19(3), 489-503. doi:10.1017/S1366728915000309
- Rosselli, M., Ardila, A., Santisi, M. N., Arecco, M., Salvatierra, J., Conde, A., & Lenis, B. (2002). Stroop effect in Spanish-English Bilinguals. *Journal of the International Neuropsychological Society*, 8, 819-827.

- Rothman, J. (2009). Understanding the Nature and Outcomes of Early Bilingualism: Romance Languages as Heritage Languages. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 13(2), 155-163. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1177/1367006909339814>
- Sabourin, L., & Vinerte, S. (2015). The Bilingual Advantage in the Stroop task: Simultaneous vs. Early Bilinguals. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 18(2), 350-355.
- Silva-Corvalán, C., & Treffers-Daller, J. (2016). Digging into Dominance: A Closer Look at Language Dominance in Bilinguals. *Language Dominance in Bilinguals: Issues of Measurement and Operationalization*, 1-14.
- Sonntag, S. K. (2019). The Liberal Tradition in American: A Historical-Institutionalist Approach to US Language Policy. In T. Ricinto (Ed.), *Language Politics and Policies: Perspectives from Canada and the United States* (pp. 27-44). Cambridge University Press.
- Stocker, L., & Berthele, R. (2020). The Roles of Language Mode and Dominance in French-German Bilinguals' Motion Event Descriptions. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 23(3), 519-531. doi:[10.1017/S1366728919000294](https://doi.org/10.1017/S1366728919000294)
- Thomas-Sunesson, D., Hakuta, K., & Bialystok, E. (2018). Degree of Bilingualism Modifies Executive Control in Hispanic Children in the USA. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 21(2), 197-206. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2016.1148114>
- Torres Cacoullos, R., & Travis, C. E. (2018). The Community Basis of Bilingual Phenomena. In R. Torres Cacoullos, & C. E. Travis, *Bilingualism in the Community: Code-switching and Grammars in Contact* (pp. 13-34). Cambridge University Press. doi:DOI: [10.1017/9781108235259](https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108235259)
- United States Census Bureau. (2019). *Table 1. Population by Sex, Age, Hispanic Origin, and Race: 2019*. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/data/tables/2019/demo/hispanic-origin/2019-cps.html>
- Valian, V. (2014). Bilingualism and Cognition. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 3-24.

7 APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE CONSENT FOR PARENTS

My name is Gloria Salirrosas and I am a last year student of English Studies at the University of Barcelona. In order to carry out my EDP (End of Degree Paper), which is based on bilingualism and code-switching, I am looking for participants who are willing to take a confidential questionnaire which will only take place once during the study. Its aim is to collect real data from participants and, as mentioned before, the results obtained from it will be **confidential** and processed only for academic purposes. At the moment of taking the questionnaire, the participants are meant to have a videoconference with me, which will not be taped, in order to control the time it takes and to give them the opportunity to ask any doubt on the questionnaire.

It must be clear that participation, which only involves taking a questionnaire and a videoconference, is **voluntary** and in case of refusal there will be no penalization in any way. Moreover, the participants' identity will remain confidential even considering the refusal to take the questionnaire. Regarding confidentiality, the process followed will be based on providing each participant with a number (e.g. participant 1, 2 and 3) in order to identify each questionnaire avoiding the necessity of mentioning any name or personal information and, in this way, to preserve and maintain confidentiality in every moment.

Regarding the content of the questionnaire, participants will encounter 26 questions related to their **knowledge and experience of languages**, more specifically, **English and Spanish**. All the questions are multiple choice and need to be answered by underlining the option(s) which best reflects their experience. Moreover, in some cases, depending on the option chosen, they will need to provide a brief explanation using the space provided.

Taking into account the information presented above, and the fact that the prospective participants are minors, please state whether, as parents of the participants, you consent or not that they take part of this study.

Thank you in advance for your collaboration.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Participant No. _____

The following questionnaire, which is voluntary, confidential and anonymous, is meant to bring light to an End of Degree Paper for the University of Barcelona. The process of data collection only includes the questionnaire; this means that the videoconference will not be taped. In this sense, all the information obtained will be used only for academic purposes.

1. Gender

- a. Male
- b. Female

2. Age: _____ years old

3. Place of birth: _____

4. Have you ever spent long periods of time (more than one month) in any Spanish-speaking city?

- a. Yes. Where? _____
- b. No

5. What language(s) do your parents speak and what language(s) do you use to communicate with them?

- a. Spanish

English

6. How did you learn Spanish?

- a. At home
- b. At school
- c. In a language academy
- d. Others. Briefly explain.

7. Do you think that you know Spanish and that you speak it fluently?

- a. Yes
- b. No

8. Which language do you use more frequently?

- a. English
- b. Spanish

9. Your difficulties with Spanish are related to...

- a. Lack of vocabulary
- b. Order of elements in a sentence (syntax)
- c. Verbs tenses (present, past, future, conditional)
- d. Orthography
- e. Pronunciation
- f. Speaking
- g. Reading
- h. Listening
- i. I do not have any difficulty
- j. Others. Briefly explain.

10. Your difficulties with English are related to...

- a. Lack of vocabulary
- b. Order of elements in a sentence (syntax)
- c. Verbs tenses (present, past, future, conditional)
- d. Orthography
- e. Pronunciation
- f. Speaking
- g. Reading
- h. Listening
- i. I do not have any difficulty
- j. Others. Briefly explain.

11. In which situations do you use Spanish?

- a. At home
- b. With friends

- c. Family members that do not speak fluent English
- d. With everyone I run into
- e. Others. Briefly explain.

12. In which situation do you use English?

- a. At home
- b. With friends
- c. Family members that do not speak fluent Spanish
- d. With everyone I run into
- e. Others. Briefly explain.

13. English should be the only language taught in schools in the United States

- a. Agree
- b. Uncertain
- c. Disagree

14. I feel more comfortable communicating in one language or another (please specify whether you refer to English or Spanish) depending on...

- a. The topic _____
- b. Where I am (public, private, home, school, hanging out with friends...) _____
- c. The moment (sometimes I'm tired and I don't want to make any effort speaking in the language in which I have more difficulties) _____
- d. I feel equally comfortable with both languages _____
- e. Others. Briefly explain.

15. Do you consider Spanish and English both your native languages?

- a. Yes because...

- b. No because...

16. Do you think you are more proficient in one language than the other? (either English or Spanish)

- a. Yes
- b. No

17. Have you ever experimented any type of racism or any situation in which someone has made you feel uncomfortable for using Spanish?

- a. Yes. Briefly explain.

- b. Never

18. When in a conversation in English or Spanish you switch to an expression in Spanish or English it is because...

- a. I know the expression, but it doesn't come to my mind
- b. I do not know the expression
- c. Fashion or tendency
- d. Others. Briefly explain.

19. When in a conversation in Spanish you do not know how to say something, you...

- a. Try to explain in Spanish what you mean by using other words
- b. Finish the conversation in English
- c. Say the word in English but you continue the conversation in Spanish
- d. Invent the word in Spanish
- e. Others. Briefly explain.

20. When communicating, with which language do you feel more confident? Briefly explain your reasons why.

- a. English because...

-
-
- b. Spanish because...
-
-

21. What element do you think that determines the language in which you are going to address to someone?

- a. The first language they use to address to me
 - b. Their appearance (either Hispanic or American)
 - c. The topic of the conversation
 - d. Others. Briefly explain.
-
-

22. What is your purpose to continue learning Spanish?

- a. To maintain my cultural heritage
 - b. To have better work opportunities in the future
 - c. To be able to socialize with exclusively Spanish speakers
 - d. To not feel excluded for not understanding the language
 - e. Others. Briefly explain.
-
-

23. Do you use Spanish as much as you would like to? Briefly explain why and give examples.

- a. Yes because...
-
-

- b. No because...
-
-

24. Do you think you have enough opportunities to practice your Spanish in class? Please justify your answer by giving your motives or examples based on your school experience.

- a. Yes. Briefly explain.

-
-
-
- b. No. Briefly explain.

25. In which way would you improve your Spanish classes at school?

- a. With more audiovisual content such as learning from tv series or films
- b. Reading more texts based on daily life facts
- c. Reducing the amount of theory and adding more interactional content
- d. Others. Briefly explain.

26. If you had the opportunity, would you like to take more classes of Spanish in order to improve your communicating skills?

- a. Yes
- b. No